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daughter which we have just described illustrates the strength of this loyalty. This girl was a regular visitor to our hut. On the first visit after her ordeal, some expression of sympathy was made. The girl's composure was visibly upset, tears came to her eyes and her lips trembled, but she would not discuss the incident and even refused to comprehend what we were talking about. Whatever maltreatment the individual may receive in the family, he remains loyal in the face of outsiders. And indeed there is no alternative, for the individual cannot abandon or change his family, or live outside its limits.

Secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group. The Sarakatsani are, in fact, extremely secretive. As a matter of policy and habit they never give accurate answers to questions about numbers of sheep possessed or quantities of milk sold. The answers to taxing authorities are diminished, and to other persons, when the purpose is to impress, responses to the same questions are inflated beyond credible limits. The marriage aspirations and negotiations of sons and daughters are guarded secrets. Information about private family life is denied to all unrelated persons; and with reason, because people are always seeking to find or fabricate incidents of intimate family life to destroy the reputations of others. But secrecy goes beyond the point of mere discretion and becomes an end in itself. A Sarakatsanos declines to give almost any personal information to a non-kinsman, even where it could not remotely damage the family's interests or prestige. One housewife will not disclose to another what she is cooking for the evening meal. Two shepherds leading mules meet on a path and pause for ten minutes to deny each other the simple pleasure of knowing where each has come from, what he is carrying, and where he is going. The questions are as pertinent as the answers are evasive. Children are drilled into these attitudes from their early years. Asked by another adult Sarakatsanos or villager who his father is, a child replies with an air of false innocence, 'And you do not know me?' Secrecy erects a barrier around the members of the family and their intimate relations. The family secrets, whether they have significant content or not, are relevant, simply because they represent something which is denied to other people who are not members of the group.

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581 587 554 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers, in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women', whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, [593] and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of [589] another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 157 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

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156 women do not go
out into the world and compete with one another. On the
159 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
562 ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are
[602] married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
• 157 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ′ f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

811 159 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

811 993 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality